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PRIDE, JEALOUSY, BOASTING, TALE BEARING, AMBITION

Pride in being an Araucanian is characteristic of the milieu in which a child grows up, and is, therefore, inherent in every child. A child at school that merely suspects, from anything being discussed, that its people are placed on a lower level than Chilenos, is deeply hurt, and will become quiet and seem almost stubborn, teachers noted. When I asked two 8-year-old girls to make some drawings, an 11-year-old girl said to a 13-year-old one, "What can those two little things produce that is worthy of the Mapuche?" "Yes," remarked the other, "let us hope that the Sister will not take their drawings to her home in North America as representative of Mapuche drawings."

Jealousy among children is rare, and a child who occasionally manifests this trait stands out prominently, according to teachers. A 13-year-old girl was jealous of another girl who was often able to give information before she herself was. "A year ago," remarked the teacher, "I gave help after school hours to a student who was preparing to enter a school of advanced studies. Immediately this girl [the jealously inclined one] wanted help, too. She must be in the lead or on a par with everything in order to be happy." The girl's mother, too, observed that the girl was quite different from other children. "She is afraid of the dark," she noted; "maybe it is because I threw her navel out. She is forgetful, too. If she is not reminded of things, she does not get them done; she has no luck with her animals either." An instance of jealousy on the part of a clique of girls that planned to poison a classmate who persisted in doing better work than they (p. 111), was related by a teacher.

Boasting and tale bearing are not characteristics of children; they are practically nonexistent. Said an old man: "Children on the land are quiet children; they do not boast; really they have nothing to boast about." A tale bearer is not punished but is ignored, unless the matter told about is of importance, in which case the one told on is punished.

Aleuche schoolchildren between 11 and 15 years of age, when asked to write what they aspired to be when they grew up, smiled and sat thinking. The majority of the boys wished to be fishermen (living near the Pacific, some fathers were commercial fishermen); others wanted to work in town (Valdivia, San José de Mariquina), or to be a soldier, a farmer, or an office employee. All girls but one planned to work in town; one hoped to continue her schooling. Several wrote, "I never thought about it."

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TEASING, QUARRELING, USING "BAD WORDS," TEMPER TANTRUMS

Teasing is a chief amusement of children: boys tease boys, girls tease girls, sisters tease sisters, and brothers tease brothers. Teasing is done about the ruka and during play hours at school. In a ruka, a 13-year-old girl teased her 11-year-old sister by pretending to strangle the sister's pullet. The younger sister objected and told her to drop the chicken. The mother finally gave the older girl a look, and the girl released the chicken. During noon recess several little girls ran back and forth past a group of older girls squatted in the shade of trees and at every passing each little girl pulled the hair of an older girl. Each older girl snatched at the hand of the little girl, and when successful slapped it.

Teasing not infrequently leads to quarreling, accompanied by hitting back and forth, sometimes with angry words. School boys said their quarrels usually began during games, such as playing ball or spinning tops. "We begin peacefully, but sometimes disagree and end up in a quarrel, sometimes in a fist fight. Then, if one of us is cornered so that he no longer has his freedom, his anger becomes fierce." A young boy was angered by three older boys and a fight resulted. He fought back with his fists for a while; then stood with his back against the school wall calling to the one who would not stop molesting him, "You are an ox!" The attacker took it with a grin, as though he still had the upper hand. One morning at school rollcall, three boys, aged 7 to 9, two of them brothers, were absent. Children in attendance were certain that the two brothers were giving the third boy a "licking" for having used their father's nickname when speaking of him, as the brothers had warned the boy three days previously that they were going to do so. The teacher also related that she had had repeated reports that children of two families quarreled on their way to and from school. When questioned, the children of one family said that the relatives of the other family had invited their father to a machitun merely to send sickness through him to one of their sisters. (There is a belief that all sickness comes through poisoning in some unknown or mysterious way; cf. p. 110.) Another teacher told of two girls—one a cousin that had been adopted by the family of the other—who got into a quarrel at home and in consequence would not walk to or from school together on the two following days.

Schoolgirls give as the chief reason for quarrels among themselves being called "bad words"; none would write or speak the bad words. Their teacher noted that possibly it was an expression in Spanish, "conchu de tu madre" (shellfish of your mother), one that is greatly

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resented. "It is considered a vile expression," the teacher added. "Children who know very little Spanish will use it when their anger has been roused." 865

Temper tantrums were not usual on the part of small children; seldom did an older child have one. Mothers ignored such displays: "The child is merely angry and such a child has to learn to live alone with its anger or to overcome it." Quoting a non-Araucanian herbalist: "I have often seen a child tied to its cradleboard, crying pitifully and continuously, with no one paying the slightest attention to it. Just yesterday I said to a mother, 'Maybe the baby wants its little arms freed; it has cried so long.' To which the mother replied, 'No; it is only self-willed.' Recently a little 2-year-old girl had a fit of temper —she threw herself on the floor of the ruka, kicked, and screamed. I suggested to the mother that she spank her, and so help her to overcome her temper. The mother looked at me with surprise and said, 'I could not spank so small a child; she will learn by and by, if no one pays any attention to her.' I could not bear the screaming any longer. I picked up the child, looked at her sternly, and gave her a few gentle taps on her back. She stopped crying immediately and looked at me. The mother remarked, 'She is surprised; she has never had that done to her.'"

STEALING, INTOXICATION

An occasional child steals. Parents, however, feel disgraced by the act, and see to it that the stolen object is returned, if possible without implicating the thief. The following examples seem to indicate this: A football disappeared from a school room. The teacher spoke of it, saying that the one who had it in his possession, or anything else that did not belong to him, could not be at peace with his conscience and had better return the thing to the rightful owner. Shortly afterward the boy whom she suspected told her that he had seen the ball in a swamp, not far from his home. Two sisters in their late teens attended private sewing lessons taught at school on Saturdays. One Saturday a box of pins disappeared. The following Monday the teacher announced to her class that the pins were missing and that the thieves were known, and told the children to report at home that unless the pins were returned the names of the thieves would be made public as a warning to others. The following day, before school was called, a brother of the suspected girls stayed close to the teacher's desk; all other children were on the playground. Thinking he wanted to return the pins unbeknown to her, the teacher left the room. When 867

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867 a fence. "Do not hang your coat there on that fence; birds come there, and they may dirty it." After viewing the assistant admiringly for a little while, she ran to the garden and picked a bouquet of flowers for her; later in the day she presented her with two additional bouquets. When the wind disturbed the pages of the assistant's notebook, the little girl held them down. When chickens, dogs, or cats came near, she chased them away. With wads of wool she removed burrs from the assistant's slacks.

During another interview, school-age boys scampered off in search of medicinal plants that their grandmother was talking about, or they brought samples of them from stored supplies. In quiet tones they reminded the grandmother of information regarding their uses that she had forgotten to tell. When basketry was being discussed, they brought baskets to be looked at. During a demonstration of spinning and weaving by a woman, her children added details of explanations she forgot to tell.

Other instances of courtesies and helpfulness on the part of children were observed: Children always halted an instance to say "con su permiso" (with your permission) when about to pass in front of anyone. When we admired the flowering notro, which could be seen in bright red patches in many places on mountainsides, a 10-year-old boy ran out of the house and up the mountainside to fetch some. He returned with large branches, placed about his smiling face like a picture frame. When his mother set out to collapse her loom so that it could be moved into the open to be photographed, he immediately helped her do so and assisted in setting it up again. This done, he warmed milk for a sick kitten. In doing so, he inadvertently pushed over a bowl of sugar. Quietly he called his mother's attention to this, obviously regretting the accident. The mother remarked, "It is all right," and the boy set out to spoonfeed the kitten (pl. 63, *a*).

BOASTING, JEALOUSY

865 Parents taught children not to be boastful or jealous. "It is best to teach children to be simple. There is really nothing for people to boast about. A child that boasts is remarked about or made aware of his boasting. Older persons may say, 'Where does this boaster come from? He does not belong to us.'" A woman in her sixties listened to a boasting child and then asked, "Do you really think that is true?" And then laughed. "The child knows then that I do not believe what it said." A woman a generation older listened to a boasting child but paid no further attention to it. "Children talk that way. One will

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come and say that he saw a bird larger than a condor. But I know the birds around here are no larger than a condor. And so I say nothing. Soon he stops boasting to me. Should a child come to me, however, and lie about something important, I will whip such a child with a rope."

A jealous child is told, "What you are, you are," or "What you have is yours, and you must be satisfied with it; what others have is theirs and theirs has nothing to do with you."

QUARRELING, TALE BEARING, DISOBEDIENCE

Children were instructed not to quarrel. In fact, parents did not allow them to; if they persisted in doing so, they were punished, usually whipped. "When my father instructed us in other things, he also told us not to quarrel."

Quarrels between children in a neighborhood sometimes caused quarrels between their respective parents; just as often no one paid any attention to them. "It is merely children's conduct," parents will say and let it go at that. A quarrel resulted when a child, sibling or neighbor, took something that belonged to another child and did not return it. Sensible parents, it was said, insisted that the thing be returned, and the quarrel thus ended.

Tale bearers were listened to, "since it might be something important that the child was telling." If it was important, the one told on was corrected, sometimes punished; if not, the tale-bearing one was sent away, or the listener walked away from him.

Obedience was demanded by parents of all children; formerly even of adult offspring. A disobedient child was admonished and then punished. "That was formerly; it is not that way today. Formerly, sons obeyed when they were 30; today some do not obey when they are only 19," said an 80-year-old woman. She added in a serious mood, "I have seen men 30 years old whipped by their fathers, in former years, because they had disobeyed."

Punishments were usually suited to the gravity of the disobedience. An 85-year-old man, when 10 years old, was whipped with a rope by his father for not bringing home the oxen his father needed; he had played instead. "That was one time that I got a whipping with a rope," he mused. A woman older than 100 years was whipped with a stick when she was about 7 years old because she continued to play and would not answer her mother's call. An eyewitness related that a woman about to give birth sent her 14-year-old son (the only one home) to fetch his aunt. The boy did not return, neither did the

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grow older, competence is demanded by both parents, who express considerable annoyance if chores are not performed well.

Parental annoyance does not often lead to physical punishment. Children are seldom punished, although often scolded. Parents and grandparents suffer a small child to hit them in a tantrum or playfully, telling them "No! No! Don't be naughty." As children grow older, they might be cuffed or whipped by their father, rarely by their mother. There is nothing systematic about this sort of punishment. It seems to occur in a fit of parental temper, which is suppressed when the child is young.

A mother enjoys suckling her children and gives them the breast to soothe them. It is not uncommon to see children with a full set of teeth taking their mother's breast under certain circumstances, often when the mother and child are away from home and the child is tired and restless. I have seen it occur at funerals, weddings, and religious ceremonies at which children whom I had previously thought were weaned took the breast along with a newborn sibling. It is said that in days of polygynous households co-wives took turns nursing each other's children, but so far as I could discover (and there were no nursing children in any of the polygynous households I visited), this does not occur today unless the mother has no milk or is otherwise indisposed. In that case the child is sometimes nursed by a relative or close friend or sometimes fed gruel or canned milk, there being little fresh milk available on the reservations.

Both mother and father take an interest in their children's toilet training, although the mother has the most responsibility simply because she is with them more than the father. The Mapuche are not rigid in this training and apparently are not disturbed by a child's soiling himself and the floor. Either the mother or the father sweeps or scrapes the excrement outside and cleans the child with a wet cloth.

One aspect of a child's early upbringing about which parents seem rather stringent, at least in contrast to their permissive attitudes in other respects, is in discouraging children from crawling. While there is some variation in the way this is done, one of the parents usually sets the child upon its feet or takes it in his lap. Formerly, children were trained in most households by means of a set of parallel sticks of bamboo serving as handholds along which the child could guide himself.

If the mother is the primary disciplinarian, she is also the main